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ABSTRACT

An HEW Publication, report no. 26 in the PREP series (Putting Research into Educational Practice) discusses the timely topic of Black Studies. Previously, a survey of the development and implementation of Black Studies in American community colleges was conducted and reported by the same authors in ED 048 851. This PREP report was adapted from the final report and covers the origins and purposes of black studies; curriculum development, practices, and enrollment; suggestions for impementing a black studies program; and continuing issues, e.g., which term--Negro? Afro-American? Black?--is being used to describe the people, courses, and programs associated with black studies; ethnic origins of instructors; student participation in the selection and retention of instructors; course quality; and control of the educational system. A selected bibliography on black studies and related subjects completes the report. (Author/MN)

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Black Studies in Community Colleges

No. 26 in the Series

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BLACK STUDIES IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES

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ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges
University of California
Los Angeles, California

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BLACK STUDIES IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES

Community colleges have dealt more directly with the aims of the black studies movement than any other level of American schooling. The introduction of black studies courses and the changes made in many of the traditional courses during the late 1960's constitute the most extensive modification of the community college curriculum since the addition of vocational-technical courses in the 1920's.

A survey of the development and implementation of black studies in American community colleges was conducted by Dr. Arthur M. Cohen of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, University of California, Los Angeles, for the U.S. Office of Education under its Targeted Communications Program. The final report presenting the findings of the survey was written by John Lombardi and Edgar A. Quimby, also of the ERIC clearinghouse staff.

This PREP report was adapted from the final report. It covers such topics as the origins and purposes of black studies; curriculum development, practices, and enrollment; suggestions for implementing a black studies program; and continuing issues, such as which term—Negro? Afro-American? black?—is being used to describe the people, courses, and programs associated with black studies; ethnic origins of instructors; student participation in the selection and retention of instructors; course quality; and control of the educational system. A selected bibliography on black studies and related subjects and a list of the most recent documents on this topic entered into the ERIC information system complete the report.

Copies of the final report, "Black Studies in the Community Colleges: A Survey," and the PREP report will be available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service, P. O. Drawer O, Bethesda, Maryland 20014 in microfiche and hard copy.

ORIGINS AND PURPOSES OF BLACK STUDIES

The introduction of black studies courses and the changes made in many of the traditional courses during the late 1960's constitute the most extensive modification of the community college curriculum since the addition of vocational-technical courses in the 1930's and 1940's. Black studies has been followed by courses and curriculums in Mexican-American, Latin-American, American Indian, Euro-American, and Asian-American studies. In some colleges ethnic studies programs embodying all of these have been instituted. Of the minority programs, however, black studies continues to be the most prominent and most widely adopted curriculum reform.

Concurrent with the addition of ethnic courses, the content of liberal arts courses—especially in English, history, humanities, political science, psychology, and sociology—was broadened to include the place, contribution, and role of minorities in the United States and world history. This reform movement which involved additions to and revision of the curriculum of black activists, who were in the forefront of the black studies movement, accomplished what many educators were unable to do by exhortation (Lombardi).[1]

Contributions of the Segregated South

Black studies has been traced as far back as the late 18th century when black intellectuals became "preoccupied with what they named 'racial vindication' " (Drake).

The segregated institutions in the South—churches, schools, voluntary associations—"fostered a sense of security about identity and a high degree of solidarity" (ibid.), contributions that cannot be overemphasized. Before the 1954 Brown-Supreme Court decision, the segregated black schools and colleges were left pretty much on their own to develop their educational programs. As long as no disturbances occurred or no inflammatory speeches were made, the white educational authorities did not supervise these institutions very closely. Though their resources were never equal to those of the white schools, the black educators did provide black students with examples of professional success from which emerged the concept of the dignity and worth of black people. In the libraries students could read periodicals and books by blacks and about blacks. Essay contests on such topics as "The Negro and the Constitution" and "Frederick Douglass and the Constitution" also helped create pride in the role of blacks and black heroes (ibid.).

In these schools (as in the churches) blacks were in control; black identity was a reality. Teachers and principals were black. The black principal "provided a valuable image for black kids." More, "he shouldered the mantle of leadership in the black community . . . he was the only one with whom the power structure would deal . . . Perhaps the greatest impact was upon the kids who observed and aped him . . . and dreamed of standing in his shoes . . . ." (James). From these schools emerged some of the leaders of the Civil Rights and the nationalist movement.

Contributions of the NAACP

As a result of the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and interested educators since the 1950's, the movement spread to other parts of the country. Negro history and literature courses were introduced into the high schools and elementary schools. Some school districts chose "the more difficult . . . route of systematically integrating information about minority groups into the total secondary curriculum." Negro History Week in the North produced a variety of programs which directed attention to the role of the Negro in American life (Allen and Weathersby).

Because of close association with the public schools during this period, the community

[1] See "References," pages 23 and 24, for full citations.

colleges also reflected this interest in the Negro. They introduced Negro history and literature courses and African history courses, including the emergence of the independent African nations. In most instances these courses were taught by whites. Black instructors were scarce in the northern community colleges before the 1960's.

This effort to arouse interest in the Negroes had two major objectives: (1) revision of textbooks to delete the erroneous stereotypes about Negroes to include "a more accurate and sympathetic account of black participation in human history," and (2) "enrichment of the curriculum at all levels to include material that would foster harmonious interracial and interethnic relations" (Drake).

But, as Professor Drake observes and as the militant blacks charge, this activity did not constitute black studies but rather "courses and programs oriented primarily toward teaching white Americans about black people" (ibid.)—through white teachers. Some even attacked these courses as "token instruments for the legitimation of white institutions of higher education" (Wilcox, November 1969). In the early agitation for black studies during the late 60's, the militant blacks directed a great deal of their attacks against these courses and programs.

The Black Studies Movement: 1960's

The black studies movement began in the early 1960's and has continued to the present. In the community colleges, as in the universities where the movement began, the leaders were black students, usually members of a militant organization, the Black Students Union or Association of Black Students, and black educators. Through the student organizations the leaders made demands on the college president for black studies courses and curriculums. Some black educators also made demands but usually they did so indirectly through the student organizations. Black educators and other leaders probably helped in the preparation of the students' position papers.

In their demands for black studies the militants usually attached a bill of grievances against the colleges and society. The grievances were general, of an ideological nature, or specific. They included charges of racism, inadequate education, degradation, and discrimination. They attacked the colleges and the schools for their white, middle-class, antiblack bias. Students echoed the charge of black power leaders that schools and colleges perpetuated injustices because they made the black man invisible and denied his contribution to American and world history. Charges of institutional racism appeared in most of the position papers of the black student organizations. The Cuyahoga Community College Association of Black Students accused the schools of not relating to the interest of black students.

At Los Angeles Southwest College the complaint was directed at the traditional curriculum which they said was authoritarian, insensitive to the community, and unable to give the black a knowledge of himself and his position in American society and the world. Because of this the students claimed that the black people had "little chance to relate to anything else." In the students' view this kind of education has been instrumental in making the black man's plight ". . . one of a calculated silent existence" never offering "a significant solution to the dilemma the whites have us in." Specifically, they resented being shunted to the inferior trade and industrial courses or being placed in the remedial programs (Program Number Two (2)).

In addition to the indictments against the white-dominated education, the black students and educators made specific demands for changes in the content of the curriculum. From these demands emerged black studies courses and curriculums. Black students also demanded admission to the regular transfer, technical, and semiprofessional courses in order to overcome the handicaps of an education that trains them only to make a living, not how to live.

Purpose of Black Curriculum

According to Walton, an early faculty leader of the movement,

> *A purpose of the black curriculum is to develop psychologically healthy human beings . . . by redefining the black man in his own terms in a psychologically healthy framework so that the other human beings—white, yellow, or red—are able to relate to a healthy, self-defined being.*

Education must teach their "true history and role in the present day society" and "give people a knowledge of self because if a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else" (Fresno Black Student Union Demands). "Mental awareness and growth of the Afro-Americans in the perpetualization of his culture and the acquisition of the skills [are] necessary for the health and welfare of the black experience" (Program Number Six (6)). Education must also "develop an awareness of [the] black contribution to American history and culture," (Objectives and Recommendations of the Pierce College Campus Black Student Union) as well as an awareness of "the life and struggles of the black community" (*Enditer*).

By creating a black curriculum, the militants maintain they are performing a function for all Americans by exposing "the racist foundation upon which America stands" and by placing "the black man in his proper perspective so that an understanding of the black race can lead to better race relations between blacks and whites" (Cuyahoga Community College Association of Black Students). "The black curriculum, then, embodies how black people function and shows that a person is a *part of the curriculum* and not a spectator as is the case with the white curriculum. The black man's relationships within the institution are as much educational as the curriculum itself" (Wilcox).

Since Malcolm X taught blacks that "education is their passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today," it is imperative for them "to determine the type of their education and the destiny of their people" (Fresno Black Student Union Demands). Blacks have to reshape "the entire education process, making it relevant to the community in which it is centered and to whom it owes its existence" (Los Angeles Southwest Junior College, Open Letter to the Faculty at Southwest Junior College) in order "to survive in the present day society" (Fresno Black Student Union Demands). They must remove "the shackles of economic exploitation and political oppression" and "play an effective role in bringing about revoluntionary change in . . . society" (Hurst, October 1969).

Reaction Against Black Studies

Not all educators agree that black studies is a desirable educational discipline. Opposition or resistance comes from black educators and community leaders as well as from white educators (Crouchett). Among the severest critics of the extremist position are some prominent black educators. Professor Lewis of Princeton yields "to none in thinking that every respectable university should give courses in African life and on Afro-American life," but he fears "that a separate black program not academically equivalent to the college curriculum generally . . . reinforces the Negro's inability to compete with the whites for the real power of the real world" (Lewis).

Bayard Rustin severely criticizes administrators for "capitulating to the stupid demands of Negro students"; and advises them to offer students "the remedial training that they need" because they were "ill-prepared for college education." Some white professors also came in for criticism for desiring "a 'revolution by proxy' using black students as fronts" (Rustin).

A. Philip Randolph, black AFL-CIO vice-president, while conceding it is "unfortunate that education . . . leaders have not grasped the magnitude and the seriousness of the unrest and discontent on campuses," nevertheless warns that:

> *the use of violence. . .to compel universities to take favorable action in the establishment of Negro studies will*

create a reaction that will result in the postponement of the studies young Negroes are deeply concerned about.

Some white educators, while conciliatory in their responses, do not accept the premises of the black student extremists. The senate of El Camino College, Calif., in its response to black student demands, concluded "that the black studies program must be placed in the perspective of the overall program of the college." While acknowledging its value to blacks and whites, the senate warned against training a large number of students "in such a relatively narrow field" (Boxer). Senate members preferred "to aid in turning out not only black artists, writers, and musicians but also black (and white) chemists, accountants, linguists, historians, welders, mathematicians," in order to "serve the cause of education with dignity, balance, and professional excellence."

Some educators argue that if they introduce black studies courses, they will also have to include German, Irish, Italian, and Jewish studies courses. The advocates of black studies state that this argument is weak since ethnically oriented courses in Armenian, Arabic, Italian, Hebrew, and others are already in the colleges. Moreover, these courses which originated from requests by students and community leaders of the respective ethnic groups are taught by ethnic instructors and are attended largely by students belonging to the same ethnic persuasion as the courses.

Fluctuation in enrollment is in direct relation to the fluctuations in the ethnic composition of the student body. When Jewish students cease attending a particular college, Hebrew and Jewish culture classes wane in enrollment. Likewise, for the other ethnic courses. On the other hand, when larger numbers of students enroll other ethnic courses are added. No community college, however, matches Roosevelt University's (Chicago, Ill.) Jewish studies program. Its objectives are similar to those for black studies. It is designed to meet the needs of "students who have careers or career plans specifically related to education and social service in the Jewish community, and students who would like to secure a knowledge and appreciation of Jewish culture" (Hamilton).

Today, opposition to black studies still appears, but the emotional overtones are not as prominent as formerly. It is unlikely that black studies courses will disappear from the curriculum, for the black experience is an integral part of the culture of American life.

Conclusions

Black studies has provided an instrument for the reform and redesign of education thereby affording the black community an opportunity to develop their societal role. Because the integrated colleges are largely controlled and operated by white administrators and instructors, it is important that they understand the emergence of the black studies movement. Otherwise, they may overlook many conditions which are a source of annoyance to their black students; may miss the real motivation for the insistence on such courses by black students; and may lose the opportunity for an orderly introduction of courses or a broadening of the regular courses to incorporate topics and materials on the black experience (and other minority experiences).

Black studies courses are needed by both blacks and whites to improve "understanding of important aspects of the Nation's history and of the origins and experience of America's largest ethnic minority" (Ward). A recent study on high school disorders by the Syracuse University Research Corporation, although confined to high schools, recommends a strategy of prevention rather than reaction and suggests "the adoption of special measures to respectfully honor cultural differences among students, the recruitment of minority group staff members, and the more direct involvement of schools in the communities they serve" *(Newsweek)*. Community college educators should not ignore these recommendations; they are the essence of black studies.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, PRACTICES, AND ENROLLMENT

Black studies courses and curriculums have evolved from a variety of situations. In the beginning the impetus or driving force for the introduction of black studies came from the militant black student organizations. Nearly every position paper presented to the president of a community college by a black student group contained a demand for black studies. The demand may have been a simple one-sentence statement for black studies as at Compton College, Calif., or an elaborate and detailed outline for more than 25 courses as at Seattle Community College and El Camino College, Calif.

Concurrently, many community colleges began developing black studies courses either from conviction of their importance or to head off serious confrontation with black students. In some colleges the black studies courses—black literature and the Afro-American in the political and social history of the United States—were nothing more than the old Negro literature and history of the Negro in the United States courses. They had new titles and black instructors. As administrators saw the need or in response to student requests, other courses were added.

Whether or not the courses were added to the curriculum as a result of student demands or administrative insight or expediency, in the early years 1967 and 1968, little thought or study went into their organization. In the community colleges as in the universities, black studies "as a field . . . was accepted before it was defined, and the hammering out of a definition . . . went on simultaneously with the evolution of courses and degree programs" (Bornholdt, March 1970).

Today, without the pressures of the 1967 and 1968 period, administrators and faculty are urging that proposals for black studies courses be given the same consideration that are given to proposals for other courses. Community college educators agree with a pioneer in the field that:

> *A curriculum cannot be developed . . . simply by adopting course titles, course outlines, formats or methodology by one college to the curriculum needs of another. It is essential that each [administrator] . . . work with [his] own resources, students, faculty, administration, and the community, to meet the specific needs of [the] college (Meek, June 1969).*

This philosophy is pertinent. A practice common to this curriculum area, as in other areas, is the introduction of courses developed by other colleges, with definitions hammered out afterwards. It is not intended by this statement to decry the process of studying the experiences of other colleges. Rather, the statement is to call attention to the practices of indiscriminate imitation without consideration of the individual campus situations.

To help educators planning to enter this curriculum area or to expand course offerings, surveys, conferences, discussion groups, workshops, inservice training sessions for instructors, summer conferences for teams of administrators and instructors were, and are still, conducted by colleges, universities, State agencies, and professional associations. These meetings may be for 1 day or for as long as a summer session. They may be held on a community college campus, a university campus, or at a conference center.

Course Categories and Titles

Black studies embodies the totality of knowledge of the black community in the United States, Africa, and other black communities in that order of importance. In their comprehensiveness and scope these courses attempt to destroy the nonimage or negative image of blacks created by the traditional curriculum; but more importantly, they aim to create self-respect for blacks by building an identity rooted in American and African history and culture. However, a category or description of courses cannot capture or reveal the spirit, the inner essence, the idealism, and the righteous indignation experienced

by those leaders of the black renaissance of the sixties. For this the reader must dip into their speeches and writings readily available in numerous periodicals and anthologies. Without this the dramatic success of this black renaissance and curriculum revolution will be incomprehensible.

Black studies has been classified into various course categories. At Berkeley, Calif., courses are classified as contemporary, socioeconomic, cultural, community-related history, and language and literature (Billingsley, 1970). Hamilton has six classifications: (1) The Gaps Function, (2) The Functional Theory, (3) The Humanizing Function, (4) The Reconciliation Theory, (5) The Psychological Function, and (6) The Ideological Function which stress the reasons or purposes of black studies programs rather than courses. As a result of examining the community college catalogs, the classifications of courses used in this survey have been subdivided into six categories: history, literature, culture, socioeconomics integrated, and minority and urban oriented. Four are directly classified as black studies. The fifth category is composed of standard courses modified to make them more representative of black experience, while minority and urban-oriented courses have appeared in response to the same influences that brought about the emergence of black studies. As will be apparent in the description of the two categories, they bear a resemblance to the other classifications.

The titles of the courses listed under the various categories are taken from community college catalogs and announcements representing States in all sections of the country. Usually, the category in which a title is placed corresponds to the category used in the catalog from which it was selected. In some cases the same title of a course may appear in different categories in different catalogs. For example, the history of the theater may appear in history in one catalog and theater in another.

The number of courses listed in any category has no relationship to the number of colleges offering such courses or to the enrollments. Titles were selected to illustrate the wide range of courses, the variety in the titles, and the usage of the word black, Afro-American, and Negro.

History—By far the most common and the largest student enrollment is in the history group. In nearly every college with one or more black studies programs, history is included. Although classified under various titles, the courses essentially revolve around some aspect of the black or Afro-American in American and African history. Some are one-semester courses either of the survey genre, the period variety, or the contemporary urban setting. Others are two-semester (or three-quarter) courses covering, e.g., American history from its discovery or the span of civilization from the beginning of recorded history.

The courses are subdivided into two groups: Afro-American history and history of Africa. Under each subdivision are also included political science or government courses and the occasional geography course.

Afro-American history

- Afro-American history
- Survey of Afro-American history
- The Afro-American in American history
- The Afro-American in the political and social history of the United States
- The Afro-American in contemporary urban society
- Black history
- The black man in America
- The South in American history
- Black people in Michigan history
- The Negro in American history
- The Negro in American culture
- American politics and black self-determination
- Black politics
- Political problems of black America

History of Africa

- History of Africa
- African history
- History of African civilization
- African civilization

Africa: A study in the problems of emerging nations
Government and politics of Africa
Survey of African government and politics
Geography of Africa
Contemporary world politics (special reference to Africa and Asia)

Literature—A variety of titles appear in the section Afro-American literature, but few catalogs list these courses. Perhaps this occurs because the enrollment in the literature courses is smaller. Further, English courses other than composition are not usually required in the general education pattern or for graduation as are courses in American history; and literature courses usually are restricted to second-, third-, and fourth-semester students who have completed the composition course. Among the courses in this category are:

Afro-American literature
Contemporary Afro-American literature
Survey of Afro-American literature
Introduction to black literature in America
Literature of black America
Perspectives on black literature
Psychology in black literature
Black culture—its expression (in literature)
Image of blacks in American literature
The Negro in American literature
Mainstream of American Negro literature
Black fiction
Black folklore
Slave narratives
Contemporary Afro-American novelists
The Afro-American poet
Modern black writers
Black rhetoric
Literature of black Africa

Culture—Afro-American and African culture other than literature is the third category. These may be found under Afro-American studies, anthropology, art, sociology, and humanities. The number of courses in this group is large although the number of enrollees is much smaller than in either the history or literature courses. In catalogs listing fewer than three courses these courses are not usually found.

General Culture

Afro-American culture
Philosophical implications of black cultural thought
Studies in the black community
The black man in American society
Black humanities
Remnants of African culture
People and cultures of Africa
Culture of the African continent
Culture of sub-Sahara Africa
The African image
Cult and language of the Ibo
Arts and ideas of African culture
Swahili

Art

Basic black art
Art of Africa, Afro-American, and related cultures
African and Afro-American art
Afro-American art
African tribal art
Music and dance
Afro-American dance
Introduction to jazz history and literature
Jazz and American culture
Development of jazz: Afro-European origins to the present
Survey of jazz
History of jazz on records
Music culture of African and the western world
Musical traditions of the Afro-Americans
Survey of Afro-American folksong

Theater

Afro-American theater: theory of acting and production
Ethnic theater
Theater of black life in America

Philosophy, psychology, religion

Philosophy of the black ghetto
Philosophy and racial conflict
Introduction to philosophy

Psychological study of Afro-Americans
Black psychology
Contemporary Afro-American thought
Religion in the black community
Religions of mankind

Socioeconomic—The socioeconomic courses relate to the social and economic aspects of the black people in the United States. Only an occasional course on Africa appears in this category. Some of these courses are being incorporated in new 2-year technical vocational programs, such as education aide, community planning, urban government, environmental technology, and child care. Sometimes they cover the oppression and exploitation of blacks.

Black economics
Economics of the black community
The influence of the economic sector on the Afro-American black education
Education for the culturally deprived child
Communicating the black experience (through the media)
Black journalism
Racism and American institutions
Institutional racism
The black man in American society
Sociology of black America
Sociology of Americans
Sociology of the Afro-American
Sociology of the black family
Urban renewal and the black community
Seminar in black excellence and survival
Social changes in contemporary Africa
Miseducation and desocialization of the black child

Integrated—Instead of developing separate black studies courses, some colleges are revising their standard courses to include material about Afro-Americans, Africa, and Africans. At Sauk Valley College, Dixon, Ill., "in most disciplines black studies are woven throughout the fabric of the courses, and are applied intensively where pertinent. Also, in some areas such as child care aide, teacher aide, and law enforcement, black studies are more tangential than in other areas, but in these, attention is focused on discrimination and minority group problems" (Nesbit).

Many colleges have separate black studies courses while at the same time are broadening the standard courses. At Forest Park Community College, one of three colleges in the Junior College District of St. Louis, Mo., "this is a long-range goal which proceeds side by side with the establishment of new courses" (Sneed). Forest Park, in its Afro-American studies program, also offers standard courses like English composition, with a black emphasis; introduction to sociology, emphasis on racial and cultural minorities; and introduction to psychology, emphasis on the Afro-American experience.

This is also happening in colleges like Malcolm X in Chicago where the objective is to become "a black institution—one in which the educational services will be designed to uniquely serve the goals of black people . . . with educational programs to promote the black agenda" (Malcolm X Community College; Harding).

Similar practices are followed in the Los Rios District Colleges, Sacramento, Calif., and at San Jose City College, Calif. In the former, two sets of United States history courses are offered, one of which is labeled Afro-American emphasis. In the latter college, the black studies department issues a flyer to students with information on courses in which the "emphasis is on the black perspective" and focusing "on the black point of view." Some of the courses are standard courses; others are the more recent black studies courses.

Minority and Urban-Oriented—Although not black studies courses in the strict sense of the definition, these courses are of a group related to minorities and do for the general area of minorities what black studies do for blacks. For example, a course in minority literature including Chicano, Jewish, black, and other groups is offered at the North Campus of the Community College of Denver; it covers such subjects as the composition and characteristics of ethnic groups and the

relationships of minorities among themselves, with the dominant group and with the governmental structure and process stressed.

Since so large a proportion of minorities live in urban areas, courses dealing with problems connected with urban life are common. At Malcolm X College a learning unit has been established under the heading of urban survival; many of these courses are found in the sociology departments of the colleges. In the law enforcement curriculums, a course on police-community relations appears frequently. In many instances, the courses in this category are the same in content and purposes as those being developed at Sauk Valley College:

Administration of criminal justice and minority groups
Minority groups
The sociology of urban development
Urban sociology
Urban survival
American problems and issues
Urban social problems
Racial and ethnic group relations
Profiles of ethnology
Police-community relations
Minority literature

Formal Procedures for Curriculum Development

There was and is no one process for introducing black studies courses and curriculums; the process varies from college to college. Often, colleges bypass the usual procedures in order to satisfy student demands or meet deadlines set by governing boards.

The formal process of introducing black studies courses and curriculums may be illustrated from the experience at Forest Park Community College. The initial request came in the spring of 1969 from the Association of Black Collegians (ABS), a student group at the college. In accordance with district curriculum policy, a committee of faculty, administrators, and representatives from ABS, assisted by representatives from the other district colleges, developed an Afro-American curriculum. The curriculum was then referred to the district instructional committee, which included the dean of instruction and the assistant to the district president; the district president; and four vice-presidents (three of whom were college presidents). With their concurrence the curriculum was submitted to the board of trustees for final approval.

The following excerpts from the job description for program director of Forest Park Community College indicate some of the functions of this office.

Job Description of Program Director

The black studies curriculum director will participate in and be a major influence in the recruitment, selection, evaluation, and promotion of faculty members and staff in the black studies program. He shall plan and promote research of a sufficient quantity and quality in such areas as equipment/materials, selection and retention of students, and curriculum patterns to enable the curriculum to achieve its educational goals in a manner which is both effective and economical.

He shall intitiate and coordinate special activities and programs within the college. [This was defined to mean irregular events, such as, but not limited to, bringing in high school students for a particular event or session, or a program such as the NCAA conducted in the FPCC gymnasium.]

He shall be instrumental in suggesting and bringing about effective revision to the content of those courses outside the black curriculum, working in cooperation with the respective division chairman to effect change.

He shall maintain community and public relations by accepting speaking engagements for the purpose of disseminating information regarding the availability and goals of the black studies program to

the community in general. [News released would be submitted through community relations according to district procedure.]

In addition, he shall attend the meetings of the black studies program advisory committee.

From this were developed specifications for an assistant dean of instruction—Afro-American studies.

Although the ethnic origin of the director is not indicated in the specifications, Forest Park did select a black to fill the position. For the foreseeable future, this is a necessary condition for the success of a black studies program. In nearly every case brought to the attention of this project, a black is in charge either as director, assistant dean, department or division chairman. In a college with an ethnic division if the organizational pattern enrolls a larger proportion of Mexican-American students, the division chairman is likely to be a Mexican-American. In that event, if the black studies subdivision comprises more than one or two instructors, a black is usually appointed as assistant chairman for black studies.

Most colleges in a multicollege district have similar procedures. However, courses once adopted by the board are available to any of the colleges in the districts. For example, North Seattle Community College which opened in September 1970 includes in its first catalog the same courses which are offered at the older Seattle Central Community College. Some districts—Los Angeles (eight colleges), Maricopa (Phoenix, Arizona, five colleges), Chicago (eight colleges)—maintain catalogs or directories or banks of courses and curriculums which are considered pools from which any district college may, with a minimum of safeguards, select courses it wishes to offer.

Even though multicollege districts maintain common catalogs, there is variety in the offerings based on such considerations as ethnic composition of students, administrators, and faculty; attitude of administrators and instructors; and location of the college. In the Chicago City Colleges system, Malcom X College offers 27 of the 34 black studies courses listed in the catalog, while the other colleges offer from one to eight. In Los Angeles the City College *Catalog* lists 12 of the 16 courses included in the *District Catalog,* East Los Angeles eight, and Valley seven.

In some multicampus districts campus autonomy is permitted. Each college develops its own courses and curriculums subject to approval by a district committee and the governing board. The common listings of courses in the Chicago *Catalog* is really a compilation of courses developed at each of the colleges. At the Peralta District of Oakland, Calif., each of the four colleges has limited freedom to develop and organize its own courses and curriculums, "subject to a district instructional council composed of students, instructors, college and district administrators which has overall jurisdiction over new courses, programs, and proposals of an instructional nature when in the judgment of the director of educational services such courses, programs or proposals have special implications for all of the Peralta Colleges." Thus, Merritt College organizes its courses under an Afro-American studies department while Laney College has a black curriculum unit in an ethnic studies department, including also Asian, Mexican-American, and Native-American curriculums. Merritt courses are listed as Afro-American 1, 2, 3, etc., while Laney courses are listed in the subject disciplines.

In single college districts the process of developing courses and curriculums is slightly less complicated. All of the personnel involved in curriculum planning are associated with the college except for an occasional consultant.

An interdisciplinary curriculum committee including student, faculty, and administrative representation is fairly common. Legal or pro-forma approval by the board is usually part of the process.

A black studies course grew out of an exchange of letters and a visit by instructors

and students from Golden West College, a predominantly white district, and Compton College sociology classes. After the visit the Golden West dean of instruction received a request from the students through the social sciences division "to develop a course which would provide better understanding of the black man's problem in the American society." The division developed the course "The Black Man in American Society" and, on the advice of the division, the dean secured the part-time services of a Compton College instructor. The course is successful, with consistently high enrollment and enthusiastic support of the students.

Institutional Organization of Courses and Curriculums

Black studies courses and curriculums are organized in a variety of patterns. Courses may be:

- Distributed among the various disciplines. This practice is followed by colleges that offer only a few courses as well as by colleges that offer a large number and majors in Afro-American studies. In these colleges black studies courses will have numbers with different designations such as Art 8, English 20, History 11.
- Grouped as a separate discipline. This practice is found only in colleges offering a large number of courses. In these colleges black studies courses will have numbers preceded by the designation black studies or Afro-American studies.

Curriculum organizational patterns are as follows:

- A small number of courses are offered with no special provision outside the usual institutional pattern. Responsibility resides in the dean of instruction (or officer with comparable duties) and the chairmen of the various departments in which black studies courses are placed. Suggestions for additional courses may come from students, faculty, administrators, or trustees. Sometimes, one of the instructors (usually a black) of a black studies course may be given responsibility for coordinating activities in relation to black studies. A large number of black studies courses are offered with responsibility given according to the grouping of courses.
- Colleges in which courses are distributed among the various disciplines usually appoint a coordinator, assistant dean, or director to supervise the activities related to the development of black studies.
- Colleges in which courses are grouped in a separate department usually follow the same practice as that in other disciplines.
- Colleges with large student enrollments in several ethnic groups are developing ethnic studies divisions. In this pattern Afro-American studies or black studies is one of two or more ethnic subdivisions. The ethnic studies division director or chairman may be from any of the ethnic subdivisions. Usually each ethnic subdivision has its own director, coordinator, or chairman. At Los Angeles City College this organizational pattern is called cultural arts department; at New York City Community College, Afro-American and Latin American program.
- In the Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought (a branch of the college), a student from the Sacramento City College supervises the program. It is the only case reported in which a student is in charge of a black studies program.

Associate in arts programs with a major in Afro-American studies or black studies are appearing in colleges, especially those with large black student enrollments, such as Merritt College, Forest Park Community College, Malcolm X College, Los Angeles City College, Prairie State College. These and other colleges also offer interdisciplinary degree programs combining black studies courses with courses in other disciplines.

Associate in arts programs with a major in ethnic studies are a more recent development. These may or may not include black studies courses. At City College of San Francisco a major in ethnic studies consists of 20 units in any one of three curriculums: Afro-American studies, Chinese studies, Latin-American studies or any combination of courses in two or more of the three fields.

ENROLLMENT IN BLACK STUDIES COURSES

Criteria for evaluating the success of courses in terms of student enrollment are not available, but administrators and faculty express satisfaction if the courses offered enroll as high a percentage of students as do other liberal arts courses. It seems that students enroll in black studies courses in reasonably large numbers, but fewer than the activists expected. In fact, the enrollment at one college was so disappointing that the militants asked that enrollments be compulsory for black students.

Since the community college comprises only the freshman and sophomore years, enrollment in black studies courses is likely to remain small. In 2 years liberal arts students are not able or do not desire to take more than a few black studies courses in any discipline. Students majoring in the technical-vocational areas are more restricted or more reluctant than the transfer students to take more than one or two black studies courses. Transfer students who major in black studies take the most subjects in this discipline. Usually a major consists of a pattern of eight courses of three units each. When a student takes an interdisciplinary major combining black studies with a traditional field of study, then the number of black studies courses in his program is likely to be smaller.

These considerations plus those relating to usefulness of the courses for degree, major or transfer purposes, and the relative difficulty of the courses, availability in their schedule, instructor appeal, all lead to the conclusion that black students are as pragmatic as other students when making decisions on courses (Sowell).

Enrollment Trends

From the information gathered for this and other studies the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. Black studies courses are most numerous in colleges with heavy black student enrollments.
2. On the basis of the number of additional colleges offering courses in fall 1970 over fall 1969 and the trend over the past four semesters, it appears that the enrollment in 1970 is greater than it was in 1969.
3. The enrollment is largely black, except in colleges with a predominantly white student body.
4. The instructors of the courses are predominantly black.
5. A favorable administrative attitude has a marked positive effect on enrollment. The opposite is true where administrators do not believe in the need for black studies or are indifferent toward it.
6. An even more marked effect on enrollment occurs where members of the governing board express an interest in black studies. The absence of black studies courses among the offerings of some large urban colleges in the southern region is attributable to the opposition of board members. To a lesser extent this is also true in a few northern colleges.
7. In colleges with a predominantly white enrollment, a course or two attracts students, provided the administrators are committed to the need for black studies.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTING A BLACK STUDIES PROGRAM

Because of the wide differences among community colleges, no single model of a plan for implementing a black studies program will fit all situations. Each college must adapt successful procedures and practices to its own situation. The following procedures, a sampling of community college practices which have proved successful, are offered as guidelines for introducing a black studies program:

1. Organize a committee of students, faculty, and administrators. If community interest exists, community representatives should be included. This committee may be the regular curriculum committee or one of its subcommittees, or an ad hoc committee—one college included a board member. Keep the board advised at every stage in the process.

2. Review the experiences of other colleges through
   - Catalogs—for courses, organizational pattern, curriculum if any.
   - Schedule of classes—for number of courses offered and number of sections in each course.
   - Course outlines—for objectives, texts, readings, and media.
   - Brochures or leaflets.
   - Statements or announcements of president, faculty, and other educators listing issues and problems, and possible solutions.
   - Regional, State, and national surveys.
   - Reports of conferences on black studies.
   - Visits to colleges with programs.

3. Appoint a coordinator, preferably a black, to supervise the implementation of the program.

4. Appoint black instructors to teach the first courses.

5. If the black studies courses are organized into a separate department, a chairman should be chosen in the same manner other chairmen are chosen—by election or by administrative appointment.

6. The situation will determine if the chairman should be the same person as the coordinator. Most colleges cannot support two administrative positions; also, this may lead to conflict.

7. Wherever possible design courses with their transferability in mind. This practice makes courses appealing to white students and doubly attractive to black students. At the same time, confer with the admission officers of nearby senior institutions concerning transfer.

8. Develop degree programs with a major in black studies or with an interdisciplinary major combining black studies courses with other disciplines.

9. List some courses in two or more departments to help students fulfill subject and unit requirements in a particular discipline for graduation, credentials, transfer, and majors. For example, listing history of Africa as Afro-American 6 and as history 27 makes it possible for a student majoring in history to enroll in the course

with a history rather than Afro-American designation. This double entry system is a practice of long standing in many colleges.

10. Designate certain sections of a course as English composition (black emphasis) or introduction to psychology (emphasis on the Afro-American experience) or introduction to sociology (emphasis on racial, cultural minorities) as an alternative to developing separate courses. Since these courses are offered under the regular course numbers, they may be used for meeting any of the requirements for which the standard courses were designed. A variation of this practice is to broaden the content of standard courses in social science, humanities, and English by including topics relating to the black experience and readings by black authors.

Negro? Afro-American? Black?

Within community colleges as in the community, divergent opinions exist about the use of *Negro, Afro-American,* and *black* to describe the people, courses, and programs associated with black studies. Although some trends are observable, each of the terms has its advocates and its adversaries. In this short, historical sketch and brief survey of usage, emphasis will be on the current practices as observed in the black secular publications; the speeches and writings of black students, educators, and community leaders; and official college publications. In addition to the three terms, another, *ethnic,* now coming into vogue will receive some attention.

Negro—Although used since the 18th century, Negro had its greatest vogue from 1890 to 1950. During this period appeared the American Negro Academy, National Negro Business League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the *Negro Year Book.* Today, the older leaders, especially those associated with the NAACP, are the principal users and defenders of Negro.

Those who prefer Negro do not seem to object to Afro-American and black. Few of them have the animus toward black that those who advocate black have toward Negro. The ambiguous feelings of some ethnic leaders may be deduced from W.E.B. DuBois' defense of Negro in a letter to a high school student and his use of black in *The Souls of Black Folk, The Gifts of Black Folk: Then and Now,* and *Black Reconstruction.* Even in *Crisis* (June-July 1970), the NAACP organ, black instead of Negro occasionally appears; this is also true of *The Journal of Negro History.* Despite its widespread use, resistance to Negro has been continuous and sustained among literate people.

As may be observed by inspection of the representative courses listed in the section "Course Categories and Titles," Negro has almost disappeared. In the offerings of 18 community colleges listed in *Black Studies in the State of Illinois* Negro appears in the titles of only four. Negro is used in the few course titles in southern community colleges, although it is not unusual to find it in an urban college with a large black enrollment.

Negro also appears in descriptions of courses with black or Afro-American titles. This may be attributed to an oversight in editing or to preference. Sometimes in the same catalog differences appear among departments. In one, Negro is used in the descriptions; in another only black or Afro-American is used. No example of the use of Negro in the title of a curriculum pattern has come to the attention of the participants of this project.

Afro-American—Afro-American has had two periods of ascendancy, once in the 19th century before its displacement by Negro and again during the 1950's until it was challenged by black. Afro-American does not evoke the strong antagonistic feelings that either Negro or black does.

In the early period, African or Afro-American seemed to be favored in such names as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Baptist Church, the National Afro-American League, the *Baltimore Afro-American,* and the Free African Society. In the more recent period Afro-American or some variation has begun to displace Negro. The Negro Teachers Association of New York City became the African-American Teachers Association and the *New York Amsterdam News* began using Afro-American, because one of the editors wrote: "we are descendents of Africans and we are Americans."

Keith Baird, Coordinator of the Afro-American History and Cultural Center of the New York City Board of Education, claims that Afro-American has an historical and cultural precision that is absent from black, although he does not object to its use. Afro-American is comparable to Italian-American, Polish-American, Jewish-American,

and Spanish-American. On the other hand, Negro, "a slave-oriented epithet imposed on Americans of African descent by slavemasters, is neither geographically nor culturally specific. Nor is it synonymous for black; one never says Negro Cadillac" (Baird). In contrast to its sparing use in speeches and writings, Afro-American appears frequently in campus publications and announcements. So common is Afro-American becoming that a recent survey has the title *Afro-American Studies in Colleges and Universities, New York, 1968-69 and 1969-70* (Information Center on Education). A cursory examination of college catalogs confirms the educator's preference for Afro-American in the titles of curriculums and courses, as well as in references to majors and credentials. This is true in colleges with both black and white presidents.

Afro-American came into vogue in official use, not only because it was favored by administrators who may have developed a distaste for black during the period of black student activism but also because it conformed to the developing ethnic curriculum patterns. As Mexican-American, Latin-American, and other similar programs were added to the curriculum, Afro-American studies seemed a more appropriate term than black studies. The administrators' desire for symmetry may have had as much influence in the replacement of black studies with Afro-American studies as their dislike for the term black.

Black—The great majority of ethnic leaders use black. An examination of two popular magazines, *Jet* and *Ebony,* confirms this preference. In both magazines, Negro, when used editorially and by most contributors, refers to those conforming to the values of white society. It has only a slightly less pejorative connotation than Uncle Tom, as in "integration of Negroes with black people" (Harding), or "back there before Jim Crow, before the invention of Negro. . . ."

Community college educators prefer black. In articles, Presidents Norvel Smith of Merritt, Charles G. Hurst of Malcolm X, and William Moore of Seattle in his book *Against the Odds* leave no doubt about their preference for black. On May 1970, a group of seven administrators issued "Crisis in the Country: Statement by Black Junior College Leaders." In the two-page statement, distributed by the American Association of Junior Colleges, black is used exclusively whenever an ethnic reference is made. (Colleges represented were Kitrell, N.C.; Kennedy-King, Chicago; Orchard Ridge, Mich.; Wayne County, Detroit; Compton, Calif.; Mobile State Junior, Ala.; and Washington Technical Institute, D.C.)

An analysis of a report of the Southern Regional Educational Board of *New Challenges to the Junior Colleges* (1970) likewise reveals a preference for black over Negro. In all sections of the report except one, Negro and black are used interchangeably; but in the section containing the observations of black visitors to the five colleges studied, Negro is never used. In fact, neither is Afro-American.

Students have the same objection to Negro as do black educators. In their newspapers, flyers, and position papers they rarely use it. Although Afro-American occasionally appears, the students' preference for black stands out clearly. Unlike the early black student groups on the senior campuses who used Afro-American in naming their organizations, community college students influenced by Malcolm X and the Black Power Movement use black as in Black Student Union, Association of Black Students, Association of Black Collegians, Black Progressives as well as *Black Awareness, Black Call,* and *Black Guard* for their flyers and newspapers. An exception is the Afro-American Club of Southeast (now Olive Harvey) College in Chicago.

A panel at a Laney College Black Curriculum Workshop on December 1967, after discussing the question of usage, reported that "whether instructors should call their black students Negro, Afro-Americans, or blacks is something the instructor can find out only by meaningful communication with his students" (Peralta College *Bulletin,* December 8, 1967). Today, that question would not be raised. "Negro is *verboten,* not mandatory but simply as a prudent tactic. Young blacks hardly ever refer to themselves as Negro."

Black still appears occasionally as in "Black Studies at Sauk Valley College" and *Black Studies in the State of Illinois: A Directory* (Evans). It appears most frequently in the descriptions of courses and in titles of such courses as black economics, black humanities, black community, black experience, and black America.

Ethnic Studies—In describing black studies curriculums, ethnic studies is becoming the most common term in community colleges, especially since the introduction of courses in Mexican-American, Asian-American, American Indian, Euro-American Studies. Afro-American continues to be used as a curriculum subheading and as a subdepartmental unit under ethnic studies.

Trends in Usage—From this survey of the use of words Negro, black, Afro-American, ethnic, the following trends are observable:

- *Black* is used more frequently than other terms in the writings and speeches of the leaders (including educators) of the ethnic group. Black is preferred by students for the names of their organizations, newspapers, and flyers. Black is used more frequently in the description of courses and in announcements of community service programs as differentiated from the formal educational credit programs.
- *Afro-American* is favored over black in titles of courses, curriculums or programs, and organizations such as Afro-American Studies, Afro-American curriculum, Afro-American department.
- *Ethnic studies* is replacing black studies and Afro-American studies in divisional organizations.
- *Negro* is used in course titles and descriptions in a few colleges. It has almost disappeared from course titles in urban colleges outside the South. However, the smaller the number of courses offered in a college, the greater the probability that Negro is used in course titles. Negro still appears in the descriptions of courses in all sections of the country.

Ethnic Origins of Instructors

Colleges with low black student enrollments are more likely to assign white instructors to teach black studies courses, whereas colleges with large black student enrollments assign black instructors. This is most marked in the large urban colleges. In these colleges white instructors are reluctant to teach black studies courses; a number have been forced to give up their black studies classes, or have asked to be relieved because they are unable to satisfy the needs of the students.

Some administrators in "white" colleges feel that black instructors are essential if the students are to learn what blacks feel about themselves and about the whites. Others think that "the race of a faculty member is not a criterion for assignment to academic responsibilities."

In some colleges with large black enrollments an occasional white instructor is assigned to a black studies course. A dean of instruction reports that the college has "no formal policy that all black studies courses be taught by black instructors. Our feeling is that, in general, this should be the case, but we don't exclude the possibility that in some cases a nonblack instructor might be better qualified" (Johnson). Another dean of a large urban college in which all black studies courses have also been taught by black instructors is considering assigning a white instructor next spring. Wayne County Community College director of black studies plans "to utilize white instructors" to improve the acceptability of courses in white areas.

Many black educators still strongly believe that only a black is capable of teaching a black studies course. To them, "black is an

attitude." A white may be able to sympathize with a black but he cannot empathize. Of equal concern to these educators are the problems of "getting blacks instead of Negroes" and of avoiding "black hustlers and opportunists as instructors" (Pasqua). A report on five southern community colleges recommended more black faculty and counselors because "few white employees can counsel and penetrate social barriers that have deeply-rooted cultural foundations" (Southern Regional Education Board).

A good summary of this issue is contained in a statement prepared by an instructor of a Negro history class after black student militants had demanded his removal for alleged racism. In his statement the instructor acknowledged to his colleagues that to resign "would be a breach of academic freedom" and although "a black teacher might have insights that a white one would not" the "white teacher might. . . have perspectives that the black would not have." But despite these considerations, and after consultation with white colleagues and students, Black Student Union leaders, his wife, and the administration, he decided to resign—noting that all of those he consulted, except the administration, advised him to resign. The most important consideration in his decision was to help maintain good relations because "in most cases wherein blacks and whites contend, it is the whites who must first extend the hand of friendship." Moreover:

> *the BSU is certainly partially correct when it holds that for a black student to get the very story of what he is from a white person is, in the present American setting, compounding an existing inferiority complex. Even if they are not correct, in the context of our times, Negroes deserve the right to try things their own way, because a white-directed society has failed black America for centuries* (Ewing).

This situation is still in a state of flux with a strong trend toward the assignment of black instructors.

Student Participation in Selection and Retention of Instructors

In many community colleges students participate as members of interviewing committees in the selection of instructors; rarely are they given a majority voice. Neither are they given an official role in the retention or separation of instructors. The only exception that has come to the attention of this survey is at Oak Park where a student is in charge. In a few colleges, student evaluations are conducted but usually these are for the benefit of instructors. Occasions when white faculty have been forced to withdraw from black studies courses were common during the activist period 1968-69; today, these withdrawals are less numerous.

Black students may become less concerned with the selection and retention of instructors as the number and proportion of black instructors increase beyond the token number common in colleges before 1960. Some observers maintain, as experience reveals, "black faculty per se provides no all-purpose answer for the learning problems of black students." The color of the instructor will become less important than his qualifications.

This may be especially true as the number of black presidents and administrators increase. They certainly will not discriminate as white administrators did before the 1950's. For the immediate future the conclusion must remain that blacks will be the predominant group teaching black studies courses in the community colleges.

Course Quality

From the beginning of the black studies movement, concern has been expressed about the quality of the courses, the qualifications of instructors, and the performance of students. Critics charge that black studies courses are: (1) shallow and substandard, designed for students who cannot succeed in the more rigorous intellectually oriented courses; (2) poorly conceived, irrelevant, parochial, and racist; (3) used as a forum or platform for

political propaganda or for perpetuating myths; and (4) taught by instructors chosen for their ghetto and militant experiences rather than for their intellectual and educational accomplishments (Sowell).

Proponents of black studies met the charges head-on. President Charles Hurst announced that at Malcolm X College the theme will be "better ed cation than can be obtained anywhere else." To the charge that a proposal for a new teaching credential in black studies involves a lowering of standards, the reply was: "Black people aren't about to lower any standards; what we're doing is *raising* standards by considering new perspectives to define 'qualified.' "

That some militants during the early days of the activist period expected to take advantage of the turmoil is not surprising. The educational leaders of the black studies movement were alert to this and took measures to counteract the tendency to lower standards. They deplored the anti-intellectualism prevalent among those student militants who want "to feel good" but opposed "homework, research papers, etc." on the specious ground that these were a "honky bag." They reminded these students that "a true revolutionary. . .is one who will fight to get a course implemented. . .but who will also attend that course *and study*" (ibid).

This early interest and emphasis on quality and excellence saved black studies from becoming a second-rate curriculum addition. Credit for this happy development must go to the black instructors (and white supporters) who kept asking themselves how they could protect the integrity and quality of instruction during the emergency when the demand for instructors exceeded the supply. They did not try to gloss over the fact that many black students were severely limited academically. One of the most candid statements made by a group of black instructors was: We have assumed that. . .programs can be initiated for those limited academically, but "we have not sufficiently questioned that assumption" (ibid).

Proliferation of courses, because it implies dilution in content and quality, has been as much a concern in black studies as it is in most disciplines. The urge to create new courses is difficult to resist. However, evidence as revealed in college catalogs does not indicate unusual activity in this regard. On the basis of this evidence one may conclude that restraint, rather than proliferation, characterizes the black studies curriculum. It may be conjectured that restraint may be related to the criticism levelled at quality and excellence.

In only a very few cases do catalogs include courses on "soul food" and other topics that have been attacked as irrelevant and questionable. A few courses on reverse racism are offered in a few colleges. Language courses in Swahili or Ibo, another group under attack, are offered in only 64 colleges. For example, a college with a 60 percent enrollment offered only three courses for its 3,100 black students. Another with 2,500 black students offered eight, including three standard courses with a black emphasis. A third college with an 80 percent black enrollment offered five for 2,500 students. A fourth college with 95 percent black enrollment of 1,660 students offered four courses. These can hardly be cited as examples of proliferation.

The early insularity of excluding white students from classes reflected adversely on black studies. It was assumed that black students did not want to expose the lack of depth of the courses and their inability to compete with white students. Today, this practice has almost disappeared. The trend seems to be in the opposite direction, encouraging white students to enroll.

In concluding this section it must be admitted that studies of the efficacy or the quality of black studies courses have not been made. In black studies as in other studies a great deal depends upon the integrity and qualifications of the instructors. However, no one can expect that all black instructors will be superior or that all black studies courses will be taught excellently anymore than one

expects this for the white instructors or for the standard subjects.

A moderate critic sums up the case by noting that black studies courses, as well as other courses, "are neither good nor bad a priori, but only in terms of what they are actually doing." They can be "an enrichment of the mind" or they can degenerate into "an exercise in glorified parochialism." They can be "avenues to wider knowledge or. . . detours into blind alleys or rhetoric and slogans" (Sowell).

Control of the Educational System

The more militant of the blacks—students, faculty, and community leaders—demand not only a black studies curriculum, but also participation in decisionmaking and in some instances, control "over the educational system that shapes the minds of (black) youth" (Cuyahoga, January 1966).

As was mentioned earlier, black educators are in control as instructors and division chairmen of the black studies department in the majority of colleges included in this report. But this is usually in the context of the overall organizational pattern of the colleges. What is involved in the larger issue is black independence from supervision by white administrators. This is in line with the still broader issue of separatism and self-determination.

An educational leader with wide influence among black educators, Dr. Vincent Harding, Director, Institute of the Black World in Atlanta, believes that education for blacks—

> *—must be developed always within the context of the needs of the black community here and abroad, and not to the needs of American space, business, or weapons technology. . . .No subject matter is neutral in the black university just as no subject matter is really neutral in the white university.*

The black studies committee of California State College, Los Angeles, believes: "control is the critical issue within the black studies program. . .[because] who controls the education, controls the minds of the people" (Black Studies Committee). In the urban communities with densely populated black areas where colleges are segregated or will be so in a few years, unless present housing trends are reversed, control is passing to black administrators and faculty. As of 1970 about 14 nonsouthern public community colleges have black presidents and in some of them black instructors form the majority of the staff. In these colleges the presidents, their staffs, and faculty have the opportunity to shape the institution in the direction espoused by militant black leaders. Administrative control is not equivalent to separateness as defined by those of Malcolm X, Oak Park, and Merritt. There are still black presidents and faculty who favor integration or accommodation. They believe that the present gains in employment practices, curriculum revision, and enrollment policies have eliminated most of the evils for which they fought in the sixties.

Malcolm X College in Chicago comes closest to the black militants' ideal of control by the black community students, faculty, staff, administrators, and community people. It is considered "a prototype of the kind of educational system needed to solve the problems of black people" (Poinsett, March 1970). On a smaller scale is Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought established in a Sacramento black community by the Los Rios Community College District. The school offers courses in the late afternoons and evening hours and maintains a counseling service from 10 in the morning until 9 in the evening. Community participation is a feature of its operating procedures. Also unique is the supervision of the school by a student. As the need arises more courses will be added to the program. During the spring of 1969, students led a campaign for community control of Seattle Community College. That effort

failed, but it did result in the selection of a black president and the resignation of a white board member to make way for the appointment of a black trustee.

As the number of black presidents, faculty members, and trustees increases, the movement for black control is likely to accelerate. In addition to the 14 presidents, a larger number of black trustees and a considerably larger number of black instructors are now in community colleges. In many urban colleges control of black studies programs is in the hands of black administrators and instructors. The next step, control of the total program, will probably follow. Malcolm X College, Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought, and Merritt College may be the forerunners of this development.

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